2: Campbell B,E-5 (1934-1935) 1937 ER6 Rural Irish ER6

NOTES ON THE IRISH HOUSE

BY ÅKE CAMPBELL, UPPSALA

121 In the discussions on the complicated problems of the European house traditions, the peasant Irish house has hitherto been almost ignored, in spite of the fact that the Irish house could certainly yield some important information. Ireland constitutes a reservoir of Celtic and other traditions of great antiquity and of special importance for the moulding of European folk-culture.[1]

To study the Irish peasant house, it is first of all necessary to make detailed field surveys for all parts of Ireland and then to compare these with the results of similar investigations in all related countries. But not less important is it to consider these conclusions in the light of the information we get in the Ancient Irish Laws (the culture here described dates from pagan times i. e. prior to the middle of the 5th century A. D.) the literature (particularly the Heroic tales of the Ulster cycle), and the vocabulary of the older language as well as that of the modern Irish dialects.

• 128 Postponing for further discussion (in part II of this article) the buildings of very archaic constructions, viz. the stone beehive huts or rectangular huts roofed by a system of overlapping stones and the most primitive or simplified house types (huts of wickerwork, sod, turf), I will here firstly consider Irish houses, stone-built and mudhouses with roof resting on wooden couples. These houses represent a slightly more developed stage of construction than the above mentioned types. They are all inhabited in modern times.[2]

341 It is a remarkable fact that even the most primitive Irish houses still inhabited — houses with only one room showing traces of its original task to shelter both the human family and the cattle, walls built without mortar, fireplace without any chimney etc. — are already divided into two principal types, namely (1) the house with the fire-place placed somewhere near the centre of the house or at least not just at the gablewall, so there are bedplaces behind the fire-place in the upper end of the house, often thatched gables, and (2) the house with stone-built gables and the fireplace close to the gable wall. In a former article (Béaloideas 1935 p. 57 et sq.) I have

4:Hooton D-4,5 (1934-1936) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6

skeletal series of medieval and modern age, which was temporarily disinterred in connection with the excavation of the ruined priory at Gallen, County Offaly.

Many technical papers and monographs upon the archaeological results of the survey have been published in the proceedings and memoirs of the learned societies of Ireland. Some preliminary lectures upon the social anthropology of the rural districts of County Clare have been issued in book form (Arensberg, '37). No general works correlating the results of the different phases of the survey have been published as yet, since these must await the completion of the detailed technical reports. Nothing at all has been brought out on the physical anthropological side, with the exception of a short preview of the data included in Dr. Carleton S. Coon's recent book, "The Races of Europe" ('39, pp. 376–384), although Dr. Howells' monograph on the Gallen skeletons is in the hands of the printer.

The enormous mass of anthropometric data collected by Mr. Dupertuis and by Dr. Dawson has been statistically reduced. At least 2 years more must elapse before it can be published. It is hoped to bring it out in one very large volume under the joint authorship of the present writer and the two anthropologists who gathered the material. The discussion of stature, head form, and pigmentation hereinafter presented must be regarded as a preview. Interpretation of the data cannot be other than tentative until the entire body of anthropological evidence has been thoroughly studied.

ARRANGEMENT OF MATERIAL BY LOCAL SUBGROUPS

In the tables and maps included in this paper the anthropological material is divided into nineteen local subgroups. These are single county groups, combinations of adjacent counties, or combinations of part of one county with other counties in whole or in part, or subdivisions of a single county. For 2 years Mr. Dupertuis drove up and down through the whole of Ireland studying the population and the geography of the country. The subgroups were made by him partly upon

4:Hooton D-4,5 (1934-1936) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6

the basis of geography, partly upon his knowledge of the regional anthropological differences. Convenience also dictated the use of county boundaries in the majority of instances.

AGE

The average age of 8809 Irish males is 34.55 ± 0.10 years. In the anthropometric survey of a population it seems desirable to include the males of subadult age (18-20 years) as an offset to those who are presumably senile (60 years and upward). The incomplete growth of the subadults tends to counterbalance the diminished height of the aged. The standard deviation of age for the entire series is 13.95 ± 0.07 years. The county subgroup means of ages range from 29.45 ± 0.29 (Longford, Westmeath) to 38.80 ± 0.51 (Waterford and Wexford).

STATURE

Stature was measured by the standard technique with the Martin anthropometer. Subjects, of course, were required to remove their shoes.

Table 1 presents the data on stature and figure 1 plots the means of stature by local subgroups in intervals of 1 cm. The mean of stature for the whole of Ireland is 172.02 cm., which, of course, is tall. The actual range of subgroup means is only 4 cm.—from 170.52 cm. (Meath, Louth, County Dublin) to 174.54 cm. (Aran Islands). The variabilities of the nineteen subgroups are for the most part neither significantly higher nor lower than that of the total series. The standard deviation of stature for the total series (6.81 ± 0.03 cm.) is not very high when the age range of the population is taken into consideration. It is somewhat higher than that of any of the eight European ethnic series recorded by Davenport and Love as a result of measurements taken upon troops during demobilization after the World War ('21, p. 113). Standard deviations in these series ranged from 6.06 cm. (Italians) to 6.62 cm. (English). The mean height of 6164 Irish was 171.36 cm. and the standard deviation of stature 6.31 cm. Thus our

4:Hooton D-4,5 (1934-1936) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6

ADDENDUM

From this Irish county series, as here discussed, all persons of Protestant religion have been omitted. The number thus excluded is 312 Presbyterians and 488 Church of Ireland, of these the vast majority come from the northern counties— Antrim, Armagh, Fermanagh, Down, Londonderry, Tyrone, Cavan, Donegal, Monaghan. Mr. Dupertuis directed this sorting because he was of the opinion that the Ulster Protestants really represent, in large part, a recent Scotch immigration, and the Church of Ireland English immigrations. In the final report on Ireland these northern Protestants will be included. They could hardly alter the distribution pictures perceptibly, except (possibly) in the counties mentioned.

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9: Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1942
ER6 Rural Irish ER6

M. E. Rea), 6, 7 (by courtesy of Dr. J. Raftery and the artist, Mr. H. E. Kilbride-Jones), 23, 24, 83, 85, 97 and 98 (by a former student, Mr. P. O'Neill) 99, and 111 (from drawings by Miss E. Kinnaird). Fig. 84 is reproduced by kind permission of the Nat[illegible]al Museum of Ireland and Plate V is from a photograph generously supplied by Mr. T. H. Mason, in whose magnificently illustrated book, *The Islands of Ireland*, it has already appeared. To Mr. S. T. C. Langford I am indebted for the use of his photograph of the reaper as Frontispiece. The Irish eskers on Fig. 2 are taken from a map prepared by Professor J. K. Charlesworth. Figs. 8 and 107 are borrowed from W. Fitzgerald's *The Historical Geography of Early Ireland* by kind permission of the author and publishers, Messrs. George Philip and Son.

My colleague, Mr. A. J. Allaway, has been good enough to read through the proofs at short notice and I have profited from his observations. Finally I wish to record my indebtedness to my publisher, Mr. H. G. Tempest, not only for inviting me to write this book, but for his constant interest and careful supervision.

For convenience of reference every effort has been made to place the illustrations in close proximity to the relevant part of the text, but this has not always been possible and the reader will find it useful to consult the list of illustrations on page xiii as a guide. The pages on which drawings occur are also shown in italics in the index. In a work of this kind I have not thought it necessary to encumber the text with footnotes and references. These must await full scientific publication.

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16:Messenger E-4,5 (1955-1966) 1969 ER6 Rural Irish ER6
(1959-1960) Inis Beag

and in his descriptive analysis of the culture and social structure of Inis Beag. For these reasons the book will doubtless raise controversy among Irish journalists, particularly those of nativistic persuasion.

Dr. Messenger describes the folk and their culture as he sees them, and within the conceptual structure of the social sciences. The picture that emerges is less heroic than the current romanticized idealization, and very human. The author's personal identification with the island and its people is obvious. He struggles to maintain an objective stance, and largely succeeds, but it is obvious that he and his wife participated exuberantly in the life of Inis Beag. This is in the best tradition of anthropological fieldwork. The problems of identification, friendship, rejection and acceptance, and ambivalence that are invariably associated with such participation are common to all of us who have had this kind of experience.

The case study is notable for its human qualities. It is a descriptive analysis of a significant folk way of life heretofore unrepresented in this series. It is also notable for its significance as an analysis of a closed community that provides mobility only by migration, and for the analysis of the influence of puritanism. This latter emphasis is particularly valuable, for too often we assume that puritanism is associated only with Protestantism. Here, the inter-relationships with Catholicism, particularly with the Jansenist denial of sexuality, is made very clear. Dr. Messenger pursues these themes at both the social and the psychological levels. The case study is also characterized by a strong focus, especially appropriate in the Irish folk context, on folklore, Christian reinterpretations of pagan elements, music, song, and dance. And the dimensions of life that are featured in most ethnographies are well developed—subsistence, material culture, social organization and social control, and values and religion. Dr. Messenger is also careful to provide a historical introduction to Inis Beag, in the context of relevant aspects of Irish history.

GEORGE AND LOUISE SPINDLER
General Editors

Portola Valley, Calif.
May 1969

16:Messenger E-4,5 (1955-1966) 1969 ER6 Rural Irish ER6
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numerous regional subcultures exist, and some are part of a larger European matrix. In fact, as I indicated earlier, Inis Beag culture in its broadest outlines resembles other existing folk cultures. I have decided to employ English terms rather than their Gaelic counterparts whenever possible throughout the book, even though doing so will displease many Irish readers; this decision is based on the fact that most of its readers will be students of anthropology in colleges and universities in the United States. Since the islanders speak both English and Irish and command English equivalents for most Gaelic words and phrases, either language might be utilized.

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16:Messenger E-4,5 (1955-1966) 1969 ER6 Rural Irish ER6
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ported on the sea only by thin canvas. Most men are able to make pampooties for themselves, but several islanders specialize in the craft and sell their wares to their fellows and to visitors. Usually cured hides are imported from the mainland, and 40 pairs of pampooties can be fashioned from a whole cowhide. They are cut to shape the foot, have the hair outside, are secured front and back by lacing, and when used daily will last about two months. To be pliable, they must be kept moist, so they are dipped in water when they become dry and hardened; however, because they are worn constantly in wet grass and sand, they seldom lose their softness.

In this chapter, I have considered all of the important means of gaining a livelihood in Inis Beag. Some I have discussed at length, while others I have touched on briefly and will reconsider later; but two thus far not referred to—piloting and recovering objects washed ashore—I would like to take up before ending the chapter. Only one pilot remains in the island, but early in the century men of several families guided vessels through the east sound to ports on the mainland. Then it was customary to place lookouts at the high points of Inis Beag to scan the horizon for masts of approaching ships, and often several canoes would race miles out to sea in order to be first to contact a potential customer. The Terrace villager who still plies the trade seldom contacts likely vessels now, and more often than not his services are refused once he rows to a ship, what with modern charts and navigating instruments. Piloting is still very much alive in the memories of the folk, and one of the popular genres of folklore is the humorous anecdote dealing with real and imagined experiences of pilots. One of these concerns a crew fishing in the east sound which was hailed by the captain of a passing schooner. Although not a pilot, an old member of the crew claimed that he was and climbed aboard, and the captain agreed to hire him after he said that he knew the sound and coastline well. Soon after, the ship struck bottom "with a great bump," and the enraged captain shouted, "I thought you said you knew all the rocks in the sound.", to which the islandman replied in a quiet voice, "I did, and that's one of them." The same old man in another tale earns the job by boxing the compass in Gaelic for the captain; the humor of this story lies in the fact that the captain does not know Irish, and the islandman, who in turn does not know the points of the compass, simply recites terms of reference[2] for kin in a rhythmic manner.

One of the oldest of Inis Beag traditions is the "law of wrack"—the right of islanders to confiscate objects of value which have washed ashore. If a person discovers wrack, he establishes ownership by placing a stone atop it or by carrying it above high water mark, and no one else will claim it. Some islanders wander along the shores at dawn seeking what objects may have washed in during the night, especially timber, and those who habitually engage in this pursuit are known disparagingly as "wrack-boomers"—so poor that they must depend on salvage. During the two world wars, the economy of Inis Beag was bolstered by the immense amount of wreckage which drifted in from torpedoed ships, and the islanders still reminisce about particular visitations of flour, planks, and other

[2] See p. 75 for a definition of terms of reference.

16:Messenger E-4,5 (1955-1966) 1969 ER6 Rural Irish ER6
(1959-1960) Inis Beag

women in the island and are attracted by what they consider to be a more rewarding life on the mainland and abroad, and so emigrate for these reasons. One of the most "pitied" girls in the island is a returned emigrant to the United States, who, despite being 24 years of age and suitable for marriage in every way, is not being courted, although it is known that she came back to Inis Beag to obtain a husband.

All of the conditions making for personality depression—the intrusion of priests into secular affairs, hypochondria, malicious gossiping, poverty, boredom, and isolation—also instigate emigration. My analysis assigns the secular excesses of the clergy and their implementation of the Jansenist doctrines of the Catholic Church in Ireland as the primary push factors in emigration and supports the contention made by Paul Blanshard that, "When all the reasons for a flight from Ireland have been mentioned, there still remains a suspicion that Irish young people are leaving their nation largely because it is a poor place in which to be happy and free. Have the priests created a civilization in which the chief values of youth and love are subordinate to Catholic discipline?" (Blanshard 1954:154). What "remains a suspicion" to Blanshard as regards all of Ireland is very much a reality in Inis Beag.

Other internal factors accounting for emigration which are considered important by the folk are the deadening of initiative by government services and subsidies and the institutionalization of emigration itself. While many islanders believe that the government ought to support even further the local economy in order to combat emigration, others feel that its present level of benevolence has had a deleterious effect on their character. Young people observing the indolence of their elders, according to this opinion, are shamed into seeking a more active life away from Inis Beag. In my estimation, this is a superficial cause, but the institutionalization of emigration is a vital factor, more recognized by youth than by their parents. Just as in the case of late marriage, emigration since famine times gradually has become an expectation—a "way of life"—and it will stimulate some folk to leave even though, in the estimation of their fellows, it might be advantageous for them to remain. When a young man says that he has an "itch to go to England and work for a spell," he usually is being motivated in this manner.

Among the external causes of emigration, the most significant are the growth of prosperity on the mainland and abroad, the influence of ever increasing numbers of tourists who visit and returned emigrants who come for short stays or to retire in Inis Beag, the impact of the mass media of communication, and the increasing availability of scholarship funds for children to attend secondary schools on the mainland. The United States has been a land of freedom, opportunity, and prosperity to the Irish since the early seventeenth century, but particularly during and after the famine (Approximately 1,000,000 Irish emigrated between 1846 and 1851, and another 1,500,000 perished from hunger, according to Woodham-Smith 1962:411.). The first record of substantial emigration from Inis Beag is in 1822, and from that time until the Second World War most islanders migrated to the United States, never to return. However, with the growth of prosperity in England after 1946, the stream of emigration shifted in that direction. Not only did jobs become plentiful across the Irish Sea then, but large, viable ethnic communities served by Irish clergy had sprung up in the larger cities. It became possi-

17: Messenger E-4,5 (1958-1966)1971 ER6 Rural Irish ER6
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arose partly out of our desire to alleviate distress and not solely to collect information. We had performed the same role seven years earlier among primitive Nigerians, and for similar reasons. However, the Africans were uninhibited, talked freely with us about sex, and were not offended by what we subsequently wrote.

Another important source of information on sex was the island nurses, who supplied us with accounts of their own observations over an eight-year period and gave us access to pertinent medical records. My wife and I believe that our information is, for the most part, reliable, but that some of it may well be erroneous. This report will, we are afraid, offend and alienate some of our Inis Beag friends, for whom we hold deep affection; they do not comprehend the aims and values of anthropology and may regard our reporting of sexual beliefs and behavior as a breach of friendship and trust. Certainly our findings will be denied by many Irish readers.

More than any other type of research, culture and personality investigations are needed in Ireland today. Social and cultural anthropologists, rural sociologists, folklorists, and geographers in small numbers have managed to describe and analyze the major sociocultural forms of the Irish folk, but personality generalizations, by and large, have been the by-products of research into other areas and have tended to be impressionistic. Some of the most penetrating studies of Irish character have been made "at a distance" and through the analysis of projective systems and narrow units of culture, such as drinking patterns (Bales 1962). Some Irish writers—"intuitive anthropologists" I call them—also have had insightful things to say about Irish character (usually at a distance too, from church and state). What is sorely needed is a holistic community study done by a culture and personality specialist—a person skilled not only in ethnography, social psychology, and psychiatry (and able to administer projective tests), but well versed in Irish history, literature, and contemporary affairs as well.

SEXUAL REPRESSION: ITS MANIFESTATIONS

Both lack of sexual knowledge and misconceptions about sex among adults combine to brand Inis Beag as one of the most sexually naive of the world's societies.

17: Messenger E-4,5 (1958-1966)1971 ER6 Rural Irish ER6
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beside them and do not really care for them at all. O'Casey's Juno offers further positive support, and on the negative side, so to speak, are the quantities of second-rate Irish plays and stories that have for their mainspring a panic dislike of women, invariably represented as shrews, hussies, and Aunt Sallies at whom anything can be thrown. A woman has only to put her nose into a saloon bar . . . to realise that Almhuin is with us still (Coxhead 1961: 145–146).

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In concluding this section, I would like to mention briefly an ingenious hypothesis of the cause of sexual repression in Ireland, presented by Sean de Freine in *The Great Silence*. His book is the most "convincing" expression to date of what linguists (outside of Ireland) term "language determinism," a monism still popular in that country a century after the advent of the Irish nativistic movement. Displaying a lack of knowledge both of contemporary linguistic theory and of sexual ethics in the "heart of the Gaeltacht," de Freine says:

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The Irish are often accused of a Jansenist approach to sex, which is supposed to date from the French influence in the Irish Church in and just after the penal times. But this attitude did not exist in Irish Ireland and does not exist in the Gaeltacht today. It would seem as though, when English spread throughout the country, it was English Puritanism and not French Jansenism, which brought about the change. For example, certain English words with prudish connotations were accepted, with their connotations, by the Irish, while their equivalents in Irish have no such nuances. In its English setting Puritanism was kept in reasonable check by the other native traditions: In Ireland, as the old culture died, there were no such natural checks to contain it (de Freine 1966: 164).

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Space does not permit me to consider other causal factors listed earlier which are equally untenable.

SEXUAL REPRESSION: ITS INCULCATION

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The inculcation of sexual puritanism in Inis Beag must be examined in four contexts: the role of the curate, the influence of visiting missions, enculturation in the home, and what I will term "secular social control" —the behavioral regulations imposed on themselves by Inis Beag adoles-